

HIS311- March 15, 2016

The Mulroney Era (1984 - 1993)



YOUR ESSAYS: DUE NEXT THURS!

- NEW deadline: March 24th in class! (HARD COPY)
- Things to look out for...
 - a clear & argumentative thesis
 - coherent & logical structure
 - in-depth research (primary & secondary)
 - judicious & engaging writing style
 - relevance to HIS311 (CDN EXT Relations)
 - Chicago style for citation
 - *Tina's office hr tmrw @2-3pm at Buttery*

Understanding the Mulroney Era

Diplomatic Departures

The Conservative Era In
Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-93

Edited by Nelson Michaud
and Kim Richard Nossal

HOW GOVERNMENT AND BIG BUSINESS

YANKEE

CONTRIVED TO MANIPULATE CANADA

DOODLE

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FEW

DANDY

MARCI McDONALD



YOUR COUNTRY, MY COUNTRY

A UNIFIED HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA

ROBERT BOTHWELL

ROBERT BOTHWELL

A UNIFIED HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA

ROBERT BOTHWELL

MARCI McDONALD

FOCUS on PM Brian Mulroney

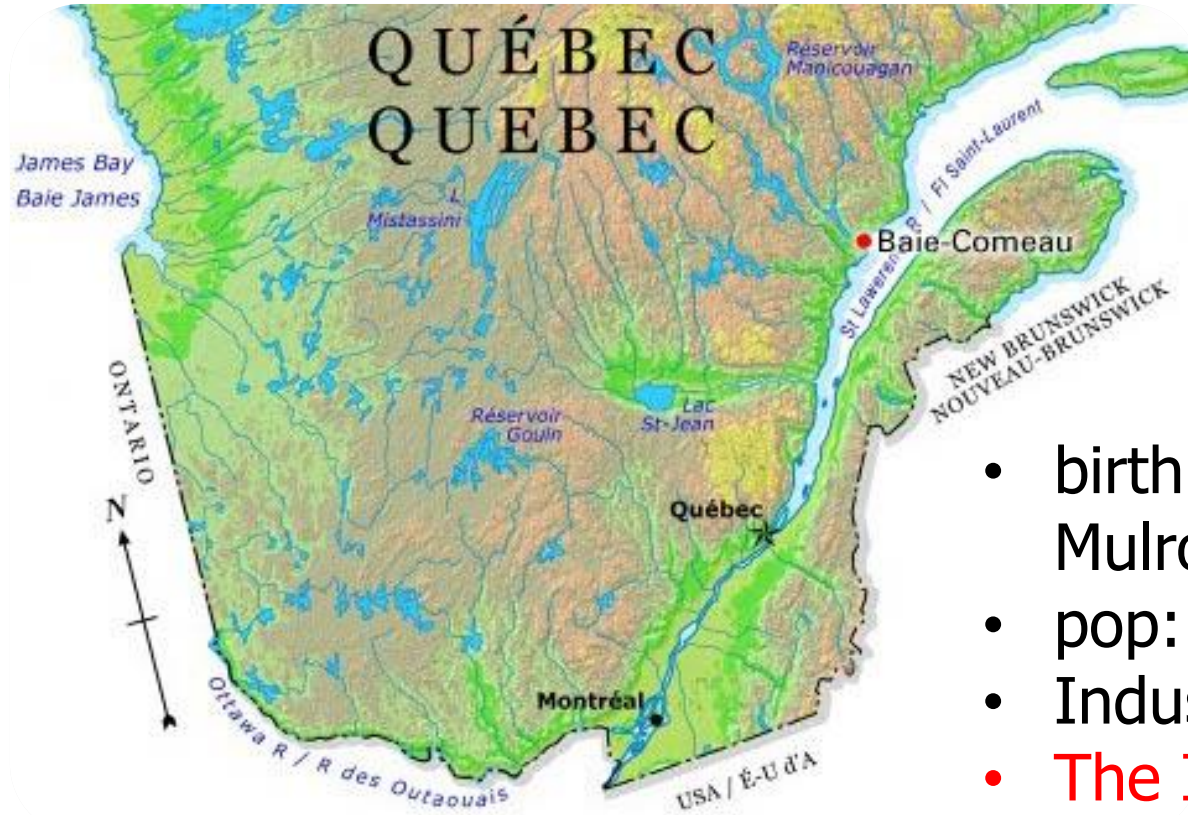
- Mulroney's personal background ***
- Mulroney vs Trudeau
- "super relations" with the U.S. & Reagan
- Canadian foreign policy under Mulroney ***
- **Canada-U.S. relations (FREE TRADE!)**
- **Acid rain**
- **Strategic Defense Initiative**
- **Anti-apartheid movement in South Africa**
- **UN peacekeeping operations**

EXAM PREP Question

Q. Discuss the Mulroney era in Canadian foreign policy. Did we in fact achieve “super relations” with the United States?



TRAVEL TO: Baie-Comeau



- birthplace for PM Brian Mulroney
- pop: 22 554 (2006)
- Industrial town
- The Iron Ore Company
- Heavy U.S. investment

Mulroney's personal background**

- Born in Baie Comeau, Quebec, 1939
- Family: Irish Catholic working class
- Brought up on the north shore of St. Lawrence River in an American-owned company town (American-influence strong)
- Father: electrician at the town's paper mill & English-Canadian (modest & polite)
- Mulroney: outspoken, loud, fully bilingual
- Tremendous respect for the U.S.

Mulroney vs Trudeau

- Sharp contrast in family background
- Montreal vs Baie Comeau
- French & French-Canadian perception
- Very different social circles
- VERY different perception of the United States



Mulroney's personal background**

- St. Francis Xavier University (entered as a Liberal but changed to Conservative party)
- Law school at Dalhousie (struggled)
- Laval Law >> chosen as one of the country's most promising people by *Maclean's*
- Practiced labour law, extensive connections in the Quebec business world
- 1976: Ran for the leadership of the Conservative Party (age 37)

The road to political career>>

- Mulroney lost to Joe Clark
- Stayed in the private sector and became the President of the Iron Ore Company
- 1983: Joe Clark made a huge gaff at a party conference >> offered to resign if he did not have a 2/3 vote of confidence. He got 66.9%, resigned nonetheless
- Mulroney won the leadership campaign

1984 Election (debate video)



1984 election results**

- Conservatives won a record 211/2892 seats and 50% of the popular vote
 - Also took a large majority of seats in Quebec
 - Liberals under Turner: 40 seats
 - NDP under Ed Broadbent: 31 seats
 - Joe Clark: Minister of External Affairs
 - Michael Wilson: Finance
 - Bob Coates: National Defence
- >> More women in the Cabinet than ever before

International context 1983-84 **

- The Cold War at its coldest
 - shooting down of Korean Airlines (KAL 007) by the Soviet air force in September 1983
 - Reagan: “**Soviet Empire...an evil empire**”
 - American support for anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan >> **transition of Cold War policy from détente to rollback**
- Tides of protectionism (both U.S. & Canada)
- Apartheid in South Africa
- Canada is divided internally & weak economy

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition

Weather: Mostly cloudy, warm today, light southwesterly winds; clear tonight. Sunny, more humid tomorrow. Temperatures: today 83-85, tonight 67-73; yesterday 69-84. Details, page B17.

VOL. CXXXII .. No. 45,789

Copyright © 1983 The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1983

40 cents beyond 15 miles from New York City, except on Long Island

30 CENTS

U.S. SAYS SOVIET DOWNED KOREAN AIRLINER; 269 LOST; REAGAN DENOUNCES 'WANTON' ACT

Begin's Party Chooses Shamir as New Leader



Yitzhak Shamir

By DAVID K. SHIFLER
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Friday, Sept. 2 — Yitzhak Shamir, the 66-year-old Foreign Minister of Israel, was elected early this morning to succeed Prime Minister Menachem Begin as leader of the governing Herut Party. This placed him in a favorable position to become the next Prime Minister if he can hold together Mr. Begin's coalition of right-wing and religious factions.

A former guerrilla who led the underground Stern Gang against the British in Palestine, Mr. Shamir could be expected to continue Mr. Begin's major hard-line policies, including the active program of Jewish settlement on the West Bank. In 1979 he opposed the peace treaty with Egypt.

The Foreign Minister was elected at a late-night caucus of Herut's central committee, where 745 of about 900 members voted in secret ballots. The counting at the meeting in Tel Aviv went on until nearly 2 A.M. Seven votes were invalidated.

Mr. Shamir received 436 votes to 302 for the only other contender, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, a 45-year-old Moroccan-born Jew who rose from poverty in a Jordan Valley development town.

Had Support of Old Guard

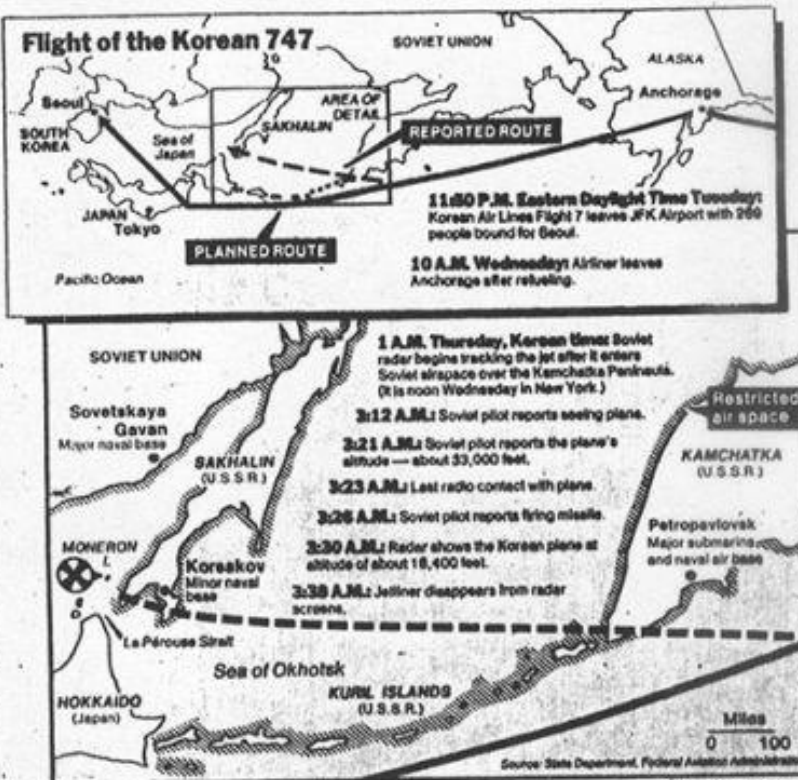
Mr. Levy was considered somewhat more moderate and more interested in domestic social issues than Mr. Shamir, but is inexperienced in foreign affairs and military matters. Because he is young, he is still likely to be regarded as a potential leader of the party.

Former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon had withdrawn from the contest in favor of Mr. Shamir and was re-elected to the cabinet. Mr. Shamir's victory was seen as a sign of continuity in the government's policy.

U.S. Positioning 2,000 Marines Off Beirut Coast

By WILLIAM E. FARRELL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1 — President Reagan today ordered a 2,000-member Marine force into the Mediterranean to position itself off Beirut so "that all necessary measures" could be taken to "the safety" of the 1,370 marines already in Lebanon.



A FRUITLESS SEARCH

President Calls Meeting of National Security Council for Today

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

A South Korean airliner missing with 269 people on a flight from New York to Seoul was shot down in the Sea of Japan by a Soviet jet fighter near a Soviet island off Siberia, the United States said yesterday.

There were no known survivors of the attack, in which a heat-seeking missile was said to have been fired.

Statements by U.S., page A5.

without warning at the airliner by an interceptor that had tracked it over Soviet territory for two and a half hours.

President Reagan expressed "revulsion" over what he called "a horrifying act of violence." He cut short his California vacation and called a National Security Council meeting in Washington today to discuss possible reprisals.

U.N. Meeting Requested

Members of Congress and other American officials erupted in a fury of outrage, and the United States and South Korea requested a United Nations Security Council meeting on the incident. The Council was expected to begin debate today.

There was no clear explanation for the reported attack, which occurred amid several puzzling circumstances. There was an unconfirmed report that the airliner had experienced radio trouble. Soviet officials said it was flying without lights. And United States authorities acknowledged that it was off course, despite carrying what

MOSCOW CONFIRMS TRACKING OF PLANE

President Demands Explanation For 'Horrible Act of Violence'

By STEVEN WEISMAN
Special to The New York Times

BARBARA MITCHELL

“Good relations, super relations”

- Attempt to recover from Trudeau's policies
- Replace FIRA with Investment Canada & scrapped the NEP
- Domestic economy: unemployment dropped from 11.8% to 7.5% between 1983 and 89
- Rate of inflation also reduced under Mulroney
- National debt continued to grow (yearly deficit of \$20-30 billion)

“Where I stand”



- **“The unique relationship Canada has with the United States is complex, stimulating, and challenging, with vital implications for our trade, economic development, environment, mutual defence and technological advance.”**

- Brian Mulroney

Mulroney's priorities

- Federal-Provincial relations
- Building “super relations” with the U.S.
- “Unlike Trudeau, however, we expect Mulroney to refrain from gratuitous negative comments about U.S. foreign policy and to remain evasive or silent when it is politically possible to do so.” – CIA's analysis



Focus on: President Ronald Reagan



- Originally an American actor
- **President of the US (1981-88)**
- Notoriously did not get along with Trudeau
- Key slogan: “peace through strength”
- Preference for narratives rather than deep policy analysis (annual growth of real GDP of 3.44%)
- **Reaganomics**: advocated tax rate reduction to spur economic growth, control of the money supply to curb inflation, economic deregulation, and reduction in government spending

Ronnie & Brian: #bromance?



Mulroney's visit to Washington (84)



First impressions: 25 Sept 1984

“These two Irishmen are going to get along like blazes. There is a special rapport between them, the rapport of two men who are not intellectuals but who are optimistic and confident, good communicators and fine storytellers and very pro-business...They established a very special relationship.”

- Allan Gotlieb, *The Washington Diaries*

How did they get along so well?

- Conservative outlook & US-centric worldview
- shared Irish heritage & preference for simplicity
- Mulroney: “The Liberals had treated Americans like enemies, barraged them with insults, never gave them the benefit of the doubt and then wondered why we never got along.”
- Internal Washington doc: “strong, personally attractive, successful businessmen, straightforward, and well-disposed towards U.S.”

Mulroney on CA-US relations

- “Without a friendly and productive relationship with the president of the United States we have a bottleneck in our vital bilateral arrangements and far less influence over the advancement of our policies with other nations around the world.”
- Access to the oval office in Washington is “worth its weight in gold,” not only for cross-border relations but for exposure to the world stage.

Shamrock Summit **EXAM

- St. Patrick's day, March 18, 1985, Quebec City
- military planning, upgrading the DEW line to use modern electronics, a [landmark agreement](#) on the control of acid rain, and the formal signing of the "Canada-US Declaration on Goods and Services", the first major step towards the 1988 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.



“When Irish Eyes are Smiling” ***



ACID RAIN ** EXAM

- A major irritant issue in CA-US relations
- At the Shamrock summit, two leaders announced the appt of two high-profile envoys (Bill Davis & Drew Lewis) to pursue consultation & enhance cooperation.
- Report (Jan 86) recommended spending \$5 billion on pollution-control technology
- Only resolved later under George Bush Sr.

Mulroney & Thatcher

- Thatcher was not a fan of Trudeau, who started a peace mission in the wake of the KAL007, thought his views were “wet”
- Shared views on political/economic issues with Mulroney



Canada is “open for business” again

- Mulroney eliminated the NEP
- Renamed Trudeau’s Foreign Investment Review Agency as Investment Canada
- Shamrock: “irresistible opportunity” for both leaders to engage in personal diplomacy
- Reagan: “We are more than neighbours or friends or allies. We are kin who have built the most productive relationship between any two countries in the world today. For the U.S., there is no more important relationship.”

Ronald Reagan's Funeral



RECAP & Exam Review

- **Key terms:** KAL 007, Shamrock Summit, “When Irish Eyes are Smiling,” 1984 Election, “Super Relations with the U.S.,” acid rain, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher
- **Assess the impact of the Mulroney era in Canadian external relations, paying particular attention to Canadian-American relations, Cold War politics, and the effect of domestic issues on our foreign policy.**

Events of interest

- **Prof.Bothwell's** speaking on CA-US relations this Wed (tomorrow), March 16th @6:30pm>> ENG103, 245 Church St. (Ryerson)
- **Prof.MacMillan's** lecture on "Why History Matters" on April 5th @7:30pm (Bloor St. United Church)
- **Chancellor Bill Graham** book launch on April 5th @5pm @GIT